Womanhood by the Book, According to the Augustana Book Concern

by Joy K. Lintelman

In August of 1899 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Swedish immigrants John and Hattie Ecklund became the parents of a baby girl. They named her Esther. According to the 1900 federal manuscript census, John Ecklund worked as a broom maker and Hattie stayed at home raising the family (Esther had an older sister and three older brothers). They lived in a rented home in Minneapolis' Eleventh Ward. The census revealed that John and Hattie could speak English as well as read and write. About such details as religious affiliation, however, the census is silent. Yet one can imagine that the Ecklund family, like several thousand other Swedish immigrants in the Twin Cities at the time, belonged to a Swedish Lutheran Church of the Augustana Synod. According to the *Lutheran Cyclopedia,* in Minneapolis in 1899 there were "7 Swedish congregations belonging to the Augustana Synod, with 2300 communicants."[1]

What role might the Augustana Synod have played in Esther's upbringing? How did girls like Esther learn what it meant to be a "good Augustana woman?" Without detailed personal records about Esther and her family, some areas of her religious upbringing (such as parental influence, spiritual practices, or theological views) will remain unknown. It *is* possible, however, to investigate some of the religious and moral influences that Esther likely encountered as she grew from little girl to young woman to adulthood. As a member of an Augustana Synod church, Esther, throughout her life, would have certainly been exposed to publications of the Augustana Book Concern (hereafter ABC), the Augustana Synod's publishing arm. From its inception in 1889 to its termination in 1962 (when Lutheran mergers resulted in the creation of Fortress Press), the ABC printed hundreds of thousands of pages in a variety of publications.[2]

Because the ABC viewed its mission broadly, Swedish-Americans were exposed to its works in a variety of contexts. According to one of ABC's early historians, the organization saw its readership in

expansive terms, publishing "books, pamphlets, and tracts" for "the church, the home, the parochial and Sunday-schools, and the higher institutions of learning . . . in both the Swedish and the English language."[3] ABC publications were also meant to serve as more than just an entertaining pastime. For Esther and others like her, ABC publications were a medium through which the principles and characteristics of "Augustana womanhood" could be conveyed. Books, magazines, pamphlets and schoolbooks all contributed to socializing girls and young women into appropriate gender roles.

This study considers what it meant to be a "good" Augustana woman in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century by examining some of the ABC publications that girls and young women such as Esther might have read in this period. Although the ABC as a mediator of ethnic identity has been the subject of significant research, the research reported here examines gendered proscriptions and prescriptions by sampling publications aimed at children, youth, and adults. The sample includes works of fiction and non-fiction, periodicals, short religious booklets, and articles in various literary publications.[4] Although this study barely skims the surface of ABC publications, it will become apparent that each type of publication represents a rich and fascinating resource in itself. The sampling examined here, although partial, is nonetheless valuable and suggestive in part precisely because it is not exhaustive, reflecting the serendipitous way in which girls and women were exposed to ABC's messages about proper womanhood.

Teaching about Augustana Women: Publications for Children and Youth

John Ecklund's occupation as broom maker and the family's status as renters suggest that Esther grew up in a working class household. With a limited family income, she would likely have attended a public school. Responsibility for Esther's religious education (as well as Swedish language training) would have rested upon the family and church. As part of this responsibility, John and Hattie may have sent Esther to "Swede School." These schools were summer courses, ranging in length from a few weeks to a few months and focusing both on learning the Bible and Catechism as well as on learning the

Swedish language. Concerned that their children learn the word of God in Swedish immigrant parents took advantage of the Swede schools offered by many Augustana Synod churches.[5] If Esther attended a Swede school, she probably used a reader published by the ABC. In addition to teaching about religion and the Swedish language, these lesson books conveyed messages about proper or expected roles for girls and women. Children began to learn early that actions and behavior varied by gender. For example, the popular reader *ABC eller Barnens första bok för skolan och hemmet* (ABC or Children's First Book for the School and Home) included some reading practice sentences describing activities for boys and girls. The sentences depict girls performing domestic tasks. A section of simple sentences reads:

Hon syr en så fin söm. (She sews such a fine seam.)
Han har en god, fet sik. (He has a good, fat whitefish.)
Han bär ett ok af trä. (He carries a yoke of wood.)

Similarly, a section with more advanced sentences portrayed different winter activities: *Gossar tycka mycket om att åka på kälke.* (Boys like to ride on toboggans very much.) *Min kära syster har en tjock kjortel. Hon skall hafva den, när hon om vintern går i kyrkan.* (My dear sister has a thick sweater/tunic. She will need it, when she walks to church in the winter.)[6] While wintertime for boys included tobogganing, girls were attending activities at church.

Esther would have received gender role instruction outside of Swede school, as well. Her first exposure to ABC children's stories may have been as they were read to her. Later she would have read them on her own. Even if her family did not regularly purchase books, Esther would have had opportunities to read ABC books in Sunday school. As well, she would have been able to borrow them from friends or from a church or public library. ABC children's books might also be given to children as gifts from the church. For example, in their history of the Augustana Synod, Maria Erling and Mark Granquist note the ABC's publication of a special children's Christmas book each year, and relate the story of an Augustana pastor presenting ABC books as Christmas gifts for Sunday school students in 1904.[7]

In addition to learning about Christian morality (obeying authorities, giving to the poor, and respecting the Sabbath) girls like Esther received heavy doses of gender-role instruction from ABC children's fiction. Mothers were usually depicted as patient, kind, gentle, submissive and self-sacrificing. The story "Brookside Neighbors" published by ABC in 1900 is typical. In it a positive role model, Mrs. Hoffman, is juxtaposed with the "bad" wife of "Wild Peter" who lives across the brook. Mrs. Hoffman gives "wisely directed" chores to her children, and never loses her patience, "always praising their efforts, with the result that willing hands made light labor." Multi-tasking decades before the term was coined, she told her children "wonderful tales" in the evenings when she "sat mending … clothes or [was] busily engaged with her knitting." Mrs. Hoffman also kept a garden and sold produce to contribute to the family economy. She made sure her children spend most of their time on the farmstead rather than in village streets. The story's narrator also notes that Mrs. Hoffman could "on occasion be merry and sportive, romping with her children on the grassy plot before the cottage."

By contrast, Wild Peter's wife had a "peevish countenance" and a crippled daughter whose disabilities had been caused by her mother's "gossiping with a neighbor on the street" while the child suffered from scarlet fever. Wild Peter's wife also appeared untidy and she was "always cross and irritable." Her children offered little help around the home because their mother had failed to teach them "habits of obedience or industry." Although these "bad" behaviors result in the death of one of Wild Peter's children, by the story's end the positive influences and kindnesses of the Hoffman's toward their neighbors had transformed them into a happy, moral, and productive household.[8]

Not only did ABC children's and youth literature provide girls like Esther with guidance on the gendered characteristics to which they should aspire, one ABC publication even provided a model of Christian home décor and music. In "The King's Image," an ideal Christian home is described, including such details as: "Scripture mottoes on the wall," "sacred music with organ accompaniment," "Bible on the center table," and "Christian literature scattered about." Inclusion of instruction on home décor in ABC publications parallels

a broader trend in American denominations. As historian Colleen McDannell discovered, beginning in the 1850s, "Christian art and objects" became popular items for interior decoration in American Protestant homes.[9] McDannell also noted that Christian décor symbolized connections between domesticity and Christianity developing in the nineteenth century, a theme evident in "The King's Image." The story follows a wife and mother who brings about the reform of a young man (who had succumbed to saloons and cigarettes) by frequent invitations into her Christian home and family where he was "surrounded by love and confidence and high ideals."[10]

An unusual twist on women's dutiful, self-sacrificing and generally submissive role is presented in one story, "When Walter's Mother Balked," which taught its readers about the dangers of overworking their mothers or taking them for granted. In the story Walter relates how his mother almost single-handedly helped the family (father, mother, and two sons) maintain their standard of living in spite of his father's business failure. She did so by keeping chickens and a vegetable garden, selling produce, preserving food and carefully patching the family's clothing. This also meant she gave up participation in her literary club and church work, and purchased no new clothing for herself. But after five years of such work, she couldn't take it any longer. After stating that "every conscientious wife and mother is handcuffed to her family," she announced to her husband and sons that she was leaving to visit a wealthy relative for several months of rest and relaxation. The males in her household fared poorly in her absence, even though a neighbor woman was soon hired to help. As Walter related, "We seemed never to have clean linen. Nothing was ever in place. We used papers of safety pins in lieu of buttons, and our dinners were so sloppy we often left them untouched." The story ended well, however: after three months' vacation, the mother missed her family so much that she returned home, her old sweet and gentle self, to the newly appreciative males in her household.[11] Published in the 1920s, the story may reflect the ABC's attempt to emphasize the value of women's roles in home and family during a decade when traditional morality seemed threatened by images of a new woman as represented in the flapper, movies, and advertising.

As a young woman with a working-class background, Esther Ecklund was probably more concerned with economic security than flapper lifestyles in the 1920s. She likely sought employment after completing her public education. Depending upon her education and abilities, she might have found work in domestic service, in textile work (such as the Northwestern Knitting Company in Minneapolis) or even in an office setting. Although married family life was the most common setting for most of the stories examined in this study, the ABC did publish works about women working outside the home (always unmarried in the stories I examined). Single working women, like Augustana wives and mothers, were expected to exhibit traits of obedience, patience, and self-sacrifice. A story by Swedish author Runa (Elisabet Beskow) published by ABC in translation in 1920 followed the fate of members of a confirmation class as they went out into the world. One young woman named Agda was considered praiseworthy because while she was ultimately worked to death performing labor that was "too heavy for her frail strength," she performed her tasks unfailingly, considering obedience and hard work for her employer as "working for Jesus."[12] The model such stories presented to girls like Esther was to work dutifully and uncomplainingly, and to accept one's fate.

In addition to admonitions to "work for Jesus," ABC literature warned young working women of the emerging dangers of dance halls, theatres, movies, and fashion. The book containing Agda's story also followed the path that her classmates Elin and Mia took following confirmation. Both worked in a factory but yielded to the temptation of "sinful pleasures" on Sundays and their evenings off. Because they spent "more than half the night in theatres and cafes," they were tired and unhealthy and performed their work tasks poorly. When Mia was hospitalized with a serious illness she regained her faith in God, and once her health returned she avoided "sinful pleasures." But her friend Elin became a "lost and fallen woman."[13] Similarly, in the story "His Requirements" a young woman, Frankie, fell prey to "the movie craze." She soon discovered the error of her ways. When she dressed like a film star for a stenography job interview, she was turned away in favor of a "plainly dressed girl." Once she gave up her fashionable dress, returned to her church work, and assisted

her mother in their home, she possessed the appearance, habits and demeanor that allowed her to easily acquire a stenography position.[14]

Not all of the ABC girls' stories focused on their future roles and behavior as single working women, wives, and mothers. The ABC series *Berättelser för de Unga* (Stories for the Young) also made clear what was expected from its young female readers in the present. For example, the story *Lilla Lena eller Vit som snö* (Little Lena or White as Snow) followed the short life of Lena Roberg. Motherless at a young age, raised by her grandmother until age four, by age eight Lena was poorly tended by her hard-drinking father, had received very little education of any kind, and was in ill health. Lena's recollection of a Bible verse taught her by her grandmother leads her, with the guidance of a friendly young woman named Sofia, to an innocent but strong faith in God. By the time she dies at the story's end, little Lena has also brought several other "fallen" believers (including her father) back to their Christian faith. In the work's final sentences the author addresses the reader directly:

> And you, my little reader, what do you do? Are you like Sofia, who helped her mother, took care of her siblings, looked after the word that was spoken, and in love instructed her little ignorant friend [Lena] and sacrificed her own pleasures for her friend? Or are you like little Lena, who was a little light for the old ignorant Mårten, her cold, rough neighbor, madam Möller [the fellow tenant who had cooked meals for Lena and her father], and her indifferent father? If you still have a little strength, a little talent, don't bury your gifts, but use them like little Lena, who through her belief in the Lord Jesus finally had her prayer heard and became "white as snow."[15]

Similar guidance for Augustana girls' behavior was provided in ABC stories about older girls. Generosity to those less fortunate was a common theme, although with undertones of distinguishing between "deserving" and "undeserving" poor. In a 1930 ABC book titled *The Golden Rule Club*, a group of girls had formed a social club but quickly tired of passing their time with fancy work or handicrafts. They decide instead to help a young girl about their age, Belle, who had moved in to a "horrid place…down by the railroad." Belle's family is deemed deserving of charity because they "used to be much better off" before Belle's father had died and her mother had

to support the family by sewing. The girls decide to pool their spending money and use their resources to make and purchase clothing so Belle will fit in among the girls at school. They ultimately discover more pleasure in "helping other people" than in "spending all our time just having fun ourselves."[16]

In addition to school readers and books, Esther might also have had a subscription to a serial such as *Ungdomsvännen* (The Friend of Youth), published by the ABC in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The periodical included articles such as educational stories about historical and contemporary events and people (in Sweden as well as America), short fiction, and poetry. While Christian values and morals were common themes throughout the publication, some of the articles addressed Augustana women in particular. A piece in the April 1910 issue addressed the contributions of Augustana women to the work of the Augustana church (*Augustana-synodens kvinnor och deras inlägg i vårt kyrkliga arbete*). The author outlined the myriad ways that women had contributed to the Augustana synod in its first half-century of existence, exposing female readers like Esther to different ways of being a good Augustana woman: Swedish-American servant girls joined congregations and contributed their wages to help congregations survive, especially during times when males suffered unemployment. Young women provided Christian education as Sunday school teachers and participated in Luther Leagues. Women joined missionary societies, ministered to the poor, and helped maintain the synod's children's homes. The author extolled especially the contributions of Augustana pastors' wives who played very active roles in congregational life while still maintaining their own Christian homes and families, and Augustana deaconesses who devoted their lives to hospital and charity work. [17]

An *Ungdomsvännen* article published two years later (1912) also addressed women and the Augustana Synod, but expressed concern about young women turning away from the church. The author, Swedish-American writer Signe Ankarfelt, offered her interpretation of the situation. Modern young women, she argued, felt social and economic pressure to leave the home and become economically independent. As they left the family home, they also tended to leave

the church. Those who worked in offices were considered as "decorative items," an environment that detracted from their "real" womanhood. Those working in factories were numbed by their long hours and repetitive tasks. Both types of women workers sought relief after hours not in the haven of a home, but rather in the "surging maelstrom" of society. By the time Sunday rolled around, the young women needed time for rest and for maintaining their wardrobes and rooms and saw little to be gained by attending church. Ankarfelt cautioned that while women in contemporary society might be enjoying the pleasures their money could buy, when times were tough they would likely turn to the "old fashioned" religion the church provided. Her article closed with praise for young women who remained faithful to the church, especially those who taught Sunday school or placed other's needs above their own. She called her readers' attention to Matthew 25 ("what you have done for the least of these, my brothers, you have done for me") and reminded them of the importance of focusing on eternal life rather than the here and now.[18]

Through lesson books, books read in Sunday school or for pleasure, and periodicals designed for children and youth, girls like Esther were exposed to many proscriptions and prescriptions about their behavior. Did reading about the behavior the Augustana Synod expected of young girls, young working women, and wives and mothers really make a difference? On the one hand, if one accepts the idea that childhood experiences shape the kinds of adults we become, then examining what Augustana children and young adults read, and what Augustana publishers, authors, and church leaders were trying to teach them, can help us understand the experiences of Swedish American Augustana Lutherans at this time. On the other hand, reading is an interactive activity. What an author intended to convey to a reader like Esther is not necessarily what she took away from the reading. How she might have interpreted a story was shaped by her own experiences and opinions. And even if Esther learned the characteristics that were expected of "good" Augustana girls and women from her reading, it does not necessarily mean that this knowledge determined her behavior. Still, the volume and continued publication of didactic materials for children and youth

by the ABC indicates that the Augustana Synod and the ABC believed that this literature mattered, and it is doubtful that this belief was based on pure speculation. The ABC board of directors, which included many pastors, was familiar with their intended audience. Pastors serving on the editorial board for publications such as *Ungdomsvännen* wrote articles with their own children and congregations in mind. The continued production of literature for children and youth indicate that there was a ready market in the congregations for these materials. No doubt some of the pastors, parents, and Sunday school teachers who distributed and encouraged the reading of ABC juvenile publications could recall being influenced by their own reading as youths, and certainly some children and youth also desired and purchased the publications for themselves.

ABC Models of Womanhood in Publications for Adults

Recognizing that the literary tastes of young women like Esther changed as they took on the roles and responsibilities of adulthood, the Augustana Synod also published materials for its adult readers that encouraged women to develop or maintain particular characteristics and behavior. One example of this literature is a booklet published in the 1890s entitled *En God Moder. Några enkla ord of sanning i smått. Tillegnade alla svenska mödrar i amerika* (A Good Mother. Some simple words of truth in brief. Dedicated to all Swedish Mothers in America) by O.J. S. (Olof Jonsson Siljeström).[19]

In this booklet Siljeström provides twelve short discussions about the value of good mothers, their importance to society, and the characteristics they ought to possess. In his first three sections, Siljeström asserts that only good mothers (not fathers or schools or even the church) can provide the kind of guidance and instruction necessary to produce good men and women. Good mothers teach "harmony, benevolence, patience, and good habits" through "determination and strictness, love and mild words and by example."[20] But his fourth point alerts the reader to the fact that "there are more bad mothers than good."[21] By now the reader likely asked herself to which category of mother she belonged? Siljeström offers some guidance by describing qualities of homes with bad mothers: "a bad,

depraved, and unclean mother's home is full of stinging words, quarrels, scolding and discontent." According to Siljeström, such homes produced "moral cripples and monsters" affecting home, society, and nation.[22] Although a young woman reader like Esther might feel some comfort if her home did not resemble Siljeström's description, his words placed a heavy burden on mothers by implying that criminals or other social misfits were the result of poor mothering. This burden was emphasized further in section five, which opened: "A good mother manages fairly well, even if the father is a wretch." Siljeström explained that even if the father is not a good provider, a good mother could make up for it by her own hard work. But he warned that good mothers should not expect appreciation: "a good mother is content with being forgotten and insignificant."[23]

Siljeström's sixth section argues that women are greater than men in spite of the fact that they receive little recognition. Historians have not addressed the importance of mothers, he claims, because what good mothers have accomplished is both indescribable and private. His seventh section places even more responsibility on mothers, this time for the "health of the generations." It was up to good mothers, through both their natural instinct and their own study, to raise healthy children.[24]

Sections eight through eleven addressed women and education. Siljeström argued that God did not intend women to be less educated than men. He acknowledged that women in the past might have been good mothers with limited education (in handicrafts, cooking, local geography and enough literacy to read a prayer book or psalm book), but asserted that modern times required women to obtain more education so that they are able to teach their children properly. He warned, however, that in spite of education equal to that of males, women were to use their education to be good mothers at home rather than seeking employment outside the home:

> The woman cannot be a good mother and at the same time set out to do tasks outside the home. How should it go with the home, if the woman stands side by side with the man in the coalmine, in the factory, at the hammer, brickyard, or at the office? Ought not such conditions soon lead to homelessness and the dissolution of family life?[25]

In words that echoed the rhetoric of nineteenth-century Victorian American gender ideology, Siljeström warned women readers against entering the political arena because "politics is too base an affair for a good mother." Yet according to Siljeström, the power of a mother's love was "greater than all political power."[26] This power was found, as outlined in Siljeström's final section, in the home, and especially in the kitchen, where a woman was "empress [and] queen." But only a good mother could obtain this power. Siljeström's guidelines for "good motherhood" included not berating one's husband in the presence of others, the ability to prepare tasty and healthy food in an economical way (he even suggested that wastefulness in the kitchen was "often enough the thing that divides those that God has joined together"), regularly scheduled meals, and the ability to have enough food for unexpected guests and to share with the poor and needy. But in addition to these household skills, Siljeström finally reminded his readers that "a good mother needs above all to be a good Christian."[27] Although the image of Siljeström's good mother is ultimately a familiar one of hard work, devotion, responsibility, and self-sacrifice, he couched his advice in a way that encouraged Augustana women to view the role of mother as powerful and essential.

ABC publications not directly aimed at a female readership also communicated what were the qualities of a good Augustana woman to their readers. The ABC annual *Prärieblomman* was published in the early years of the twentieth century and according to Virginia P. Follstad included articles on, "Swedish and Swedish-American culture, literature, history, biography and art."[28] It also regularly included obituaries of significant figures, usually male community leaders and businessmen (e.g. Swedish pharmacists, lawyers, newspapermen), but sometimes published obituaries of women, as well. One such woman was Nilla Anderson, who according to her obituary was a pioneer woman who "made our Swedish-America into what it is [in 1905]." The obituary author, *Prärieblomman* editor, A. Schön, continued:

> It is women such as she, who through their love, fidelity, devoutness, patience and devoted disposition made their husbands strong in the poor settlers' difficult struggle for food and home, for knowledge and education, [and] for the preservation of Christian faith in the midst of the surrounding materialism.

> And it is upon women who like her birthed and raised sons into capable, respected members of state and church, that our adoptive land's future existence and success depends.

This and the remainder of the obituary were devoted largely to the discussion of Anderson's husband and children, illustrating that the Augustana woman was most valuable for the support that she provided to others.[29] Obituaries and eulogies for women in the ABC publications *Korsbanaret and Prärieblomman* (and they were few and far between) tended to be shorter than those written for men. Emphasis was also typically placed upon women in relationship to their husbands (and sometimes their children) more than their own accomplishments.

Conclusion

This foray into ABC publications illustrates that the Augustana Synod viewed the work of its publishing house, in part, as a way to instruct young Swedish American females. The literature would teach them the principles and characteristics of Augustana womanhood and encourage them to adopt desirable values and behavior. From the simplest lesson books to readings aimed at adults, most "good" Augustana women were depicted in the context of home and family. The ABC outlined a kind of Swedish "ethnic" model of womanhood, even while it acknowledged and gradually came to espouse broader American cultural patterns and values surrounding the middle class home and women's place within it. For example, while employment outside the home was acknowledged as necessary for some young single women's economic survival, ABC literature warned readers of the dangers and temptations from modern society that these women faced, dangers that could lead them away from Christian values to ruin, death, or personal desolation.

Augustana womanhood as presented to early twentieth-century readers like Esther Ecklund meant fulfilling the role of wife, mother and homemaker. As revealed in ABC publications, a good Augustana woman was to have few interests or goals beyond raising her family and contributing to the life of her church. In fact, the publications examined for this study suggest that the Augustana woman's position

within the family paralleled her position in the church at that time. In both contexts women were to be obedient, submissive, patient, and hardworking. With little access to formal power, they were expected to use their positive influence in more private ways and to find happiness in self-denial and in serving others. The themes and issues raised in this exploration of ABC publications also illustrates the importance of further explorations of Swedish Lutheran womanhood, through examination of more of the synod publications as well as other Augustana women's organizations and activities. In time, as Augustana women asserted themselves organizationally in local congregations and within the wider church body, ABC's compass of womanhood became increasingly narrow, exposing the limitations of ABC prescriptions for Augustana women who tested its boundaries.

NOTES

1. Henry Eyster Jacobs and John Augustus William Haas, *Lutheran Cyclopedia* (New York: Scriber, 1899): 318.

2. See, for example, Dag Blanck, *The Creation of an Ethnic Identity: Being Swedish American in the Augustana Synod, 1860-1917* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 2006), 31 and Virginia P. Follstad, *The Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church in Print* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007). The term published is used loosely. As Blanck has noted, "The majority of the books listed in the [ABC] catalogs and sold through the Swedish-American publishing houses were not printed in the United States but imported from Sweden. At times, the imported books were listed together with those items actually published in the United States, making it difficult to distinguish between imported literature and original Swedish-American material" (p. 107).

3. F.A. Johnsson, "The Publishing Interests of the Augustana Synod," in Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church, *The Augustana Synod A Brief Review of Its History, 1860-1910* (Rock Island, Ill: Augustana Book Concern, 1910), 191.

4. For example, Birgitta Svensson has studied the ABC publication *Prärieblomman* in *Den Omplanterade Svenskheten: Kulturell självhädelse och etnisk medvetenhet i den svensk-amerikanska kalendern Prärieblomman 1900-1913*, Skrifter utgivna av Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen vid Göteborgs universitet nr 27 (1994). Polish scholar Agnieszka Stasiewicz has examined ABC juvenile literature and ethnic identity in her recent dissertation: "Pokolenie na rozdrożu. Polityka kształtowania tożsamości etnicznej dzieci imigrantów na przykładzie działalności szwedzko-amerykańskiego wydawnictwa Augustana Book Concern (1889-1962)" ["Generation at the crossroads. The policy of constructing ethnic identity of immigrants' children and youth: The case study of the Swedish-American publishing house Augustana Book Concern (1889-1962)"], Ph.D. diss., Jagiellonian University in Krakow, May 2009.

5. Swede schools were also offered by other Swedish denominations such as the Evangelical Covenant, Swedish Methodist, and Swedish Baptist.

6. Anders Hult, *ABC eller Barnens första bok för skolan och hemmet,* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1885), 23, 37. Translations by author. Editions of this reader were published in the 1890s and 1900s, as well.

7. Maria Erling and Mark Granquist, *The Augustana Story: Shaping Lutheran Identity in North America* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2008), 117.

8. Margarete Lenk, "Brookside Neighbors" in *The Winning of Willie* (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, 1900), 67-125.

9. Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 57, 72-86.

10. Ida Lee Johnston, *The King's Image and Other Stories for Young People* (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, 1928), 9, 13.

11. Johnston, "When Walter's Mother Balked," in *King's Image*, 36-47.

12. Runa [Elisabeth Beskow], "Hold Fast Thy Crown" in *A Christmas Home-coming* (Rock Island, IL: Augustana Book Concern, 1920), 50-53.

13. Runa, "Hold Fast," 71-78.

14. *King's Image*, 48-56.

15. *Berättelser för de Unga, N:r 20: Lilla Lena*, (Rock Island, IL: Luth. Augustana Book Concern, 189?), 58. This story had been published earlier in Sweden by a religious publishing house (Lutherska evangeli-föreningen, 1886). Translation by author.

16. Julia Lestarjette Glover, *The Golden Rule Club* (Rock Island, IL: Augustana Book Concern, 1930), 21.

17. Peter Petersson, "Augustana-synodens kvinoor och deras inlägg i vårt kyrkliga arbete," *Ungdomsvännen* (April 1910), 101-103. Petersson was later the Conference President in Illinois, and his own wife took over the Augustana Women's Missionary Society after its long-time leader Emmy Ewald retired.

18. Signe Ankarfelt, "Den unga kvinnan och kyrkan i våra dagar," *Ungdomsvännen* (1911), 149-50.

19. O. J. S. [Olof Jonsson Siljeström], *Några enkla ord of sanning i smått. Tillegnade alla svenska mödrar i amerika* (Rock Island, IL: Augustana Book Concern, 189?).

20. Siljeström, 4-5.

21. Siljeström, 8.

22. Siljeström, 9-10.

23. Siljeström, 11.

24. Siljeström, 12.

25. Siljeström, 14-18.

26. Siljeström, 18.

27. Siljeström, 20-21.

28. Virginia P. Follstad, *The Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church in Print* (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 161-63.

29. A. Schön, "Nilla Anderson," *Prärieblomman Kalendar för 1905* (Rock Island, Ill: Augustana Book Concern, 1904), 193-95. Two other obituaries for women were included in this issue, one for Swedish-born singer Eleonore Petrelli and the other for Johanna Sofia Ogden, the first Swedish woman in Andover, whose life had included participation in the Bishop Hill colony as well as working in the gold mines of California.